UNITED
NATIONS

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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3011
3 October 1991

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND AND ELEVENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 3 October 1991, at 8 p.m.

President:	Mr. GHAREKHAN	(India)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	China	Mr. JIN Yongjian
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. BECHIO
	Cuba	Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Romania	Mr. MUNTEANU
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 9.30 p.m.

The PRESIDENT: I should like to acknowledge the presence at the Council table of His Excellency Mr. Alain Vivien, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of France.

EXPRESSION OF THANKS TO THE RETIRING PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT: As this is the first meeting of the Security Council for the month of October, I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute, on behalf of the Council, to His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bernard P. H. P. Merimee, Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations, for his service as President of the Security Council for the month of September 1991. I am sure I speak for all members of the Security Council in expressing deep appreciation to Ambassador Merimee for the great diplomatic skill and unfailing courtesy with which he conducted the Council's business last month.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

LETTER DATED 30 SEPTEMBER 1991 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF HAITI TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL (S/23098)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Canada, Haiti and Honduras in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, President of the Republic of Haiti, was escorted into the Security Council Chamber and to a place at the Council table.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Fortier (Canada) and Mr. Florez Bermudez (Honduras) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in response to the request contained in a letter dated 30 September 1991 from the Permanent Representative of Haiti to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/23098).

I should like to draw the attention of members of the Council to document S/23105, which contains the text of a note verbale dated 2 October 1991 from the Permanent Mission of Panama to the United Nations addressed to the Secretary-General.

Members of the Council have received photocopies of a letter dated 3 October 1991 from the Permanent Representatives of Ecuador and the United States of America addressed to the Secretary-General, transmitting the text of a resolution adopted on 2 October 1991 at a meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of American States. The letter and its enclosure will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/23109.

I now have the honour to call upon the distinguished President of the Republic of Haiti, His Excellency the Reverend Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide. I welcome His Excellency and invite him to address the Security Council.

President ARISTIDE (interpretation from French): Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, dear friends: I greet you on behalf of the Haitian people and I thank you for the initiatives now under way. For, in order to rescue the democracy threatened by the coup d'état that took place in our country on 29 September last, we have all turned our eyes to that land, thus expressing the international community's solidarity.

Together with all those who are concerned about security today, we are in contact with the international bodies that struggle for democracy, and we are therefore able to say to all mankind that this threat to democracy in Haiti is also a threat to democracy all over the world; for what is happening today in Haiti can also happen elsewhere.

(President Aristide)

From that standpoint, standing united with the international community, which has vigorously condemned this crime perpetrated against democracy, and which, through the Organization of American States (OAS), has turned its gaze to Haiti in an attempt to negotiate a way out, thereby avoiding excessive criminal action, we believe together that, with the Council, we can strengthen this démarche and save many lives.

In just a few hours a General and a small number of the the military killed 26 people, and hundreds of wounded have already been counted. That was on the night of 29 September last. We have learned tonight that notorious criminals have returned to our land and stand ready to buttress the small group in power and are ready to massacre people and do away with democracy.

On 30 September last, in the General Headquarters of the Haitian Armed Forces, I personally had an opportunity to see arriving some of these notorious criminals who had been imprisoned, such as Major Isidore Pognon, who is notorious for having killed and had killed many people in Papa Doc's suite in Fort Dimanche, a well-known place of torture. People who were imprisoned for drug trafficking were released on 30 September. This is a country where the people are ready to die so that democracy might live. But today it is facing a General who is thirsty for power and ready to kill in order to keep it, thereby killing democracy.

Thanks to the Security Council, and to efforts already under way at the international level, we, the Haitian people, are convinced that we can provide a historic lesson to save democracy not only in Haiti but also wherever it is threatened by military force.

(President Aristide)

To be sure, we must not try to decide in place of the Haitian people, but rather we must decide together with them. It is that people that came from the provinces of Haiti on 28 September so say "no" to this dictatorship; that people that would have preferred to remain at home rather than go out in the street. None the less, they went out in the street when it was possible, but inside and outside they always cried out, "no" to dictatorship.

It is that people which, using non-violent means to protest that dictatorship, is standing and awaiting the support of the international community - your support - so that together we can show our will to live in democracy and for democracy and against dictatorship.

It is the self-same people that expects the Council's support in the protection of human rights. The protection of human rights implies action that will shore up institutions in our country. The protection of human rights implies such action which will make it possible for us to deal with structures of exploitation, injustice and dictatorship.

Were we isolated and alone in Haiti, it would have been very difficult for us the Haitian people to face this tragic situation, in which arms and military boots are always ready to crush a people that wish to stake their lives and work peacefully for the reign of democracy.

I shall not be long. I shall simply say that with the Council standing with us, we are firmly convinced that once again the Latin American continent, the Antilles, the Caribbean and the rest of the world will say "yes" to democracy and "no" to military dictatorship, "yes" to solidarity and "no" to isolation.

The Council knows the history of our country, and we are ready to keep that history going - a history that is replete with struggles for peace, for

(President Aristide)

justice, for solidarity with the international community wishing to live everywhere and forever in democracy. That is our wish - a wish that is rooted in reality, because the international community is moving forward with us, and together we can strengthen the institutions that uphold human rights and safeguard democracy.

I say again that it was thanks to the help of the international community that we were able to hold free, honest and democratic elections on 16 December 1990. It will also be with the help of the international community that we will be able to save that threatened democracy.

If tomorrow a delegation were to go to Haiti to do justice that must be done beyond one's frontiers and those criminals relinquished power, we would thank you a thousand times. We would welcome any help in shoring up our democratic structures, and we would say, "thank you" a thousand times.

If we can welcome your assistance - humanitarian assistance - to help build a police force that can protect lives and property, without any obligation to support an army that has always struggled to uphold dictatorships when it should have struggled to support democracy - if all this should happen, thanks again to your help, we would forever express gratitude. On behalf of the Haitian people, I thank you for these undertakings and for your understanding. We thank you on behalf of our victims that number among the hundreds; their relatives and their friends would not wish to see their numbers rise.

As I speak to the Council, I see peace-loving people I have known go before my mind's eye, and I know that they have died. I am wondering how many more will be massacred if once and for all an end is not put - within the norm - to this attempt to murder democracy.

(President Aristide)

I thank the Council again, and again on behalf of the Haitian people, for what has been done and what is being done in order to ensure that democracy will prevail.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the President of the Republic of Haiti, His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, for his statement.

I am sure that I reflect the sentiment of everyone in this Chamber when I say that we have been deeply moved by Your Excellency's address to the Council. The grave events that have taken place in your country deserve to be strongly condemned. They represent a violent usurpation of legitimate democratic authority and power in your country. We urge and call for the immediate reversal of the situation and for the restoration of the legitimate Government in Haiti.

We have seen the resolution which was adopted by the Organization of American States in Washington in the early hours of this morning. We support that resolution, and we support the efforts of the Organization of American States to bring about the restoration of legitimate authority in Haiti. We all hope that Your Excellency will soon be able to return to your beloved country and that you will be able to resume your legitimate office as soon as possible.

His Excellency Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, President of the Republic of Haiti, was escorted from the Security Council Chamber.

The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of Honduras, who wishes to make a statement in his capacity as Chairman of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States for the month of October 1991. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. FLORES BERMUDEZ (Honduras) (interpretation from Spanish): On behalf of the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States, I should like to thank the members of the Security Council for deciding to hear, in this important body, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who has clearly described the events occurring in his country. As is well known, the General Assembly

(Mr. Flores Bermudez, Honduras)

of the United Nations, in resolution 45/2 of 1990, supported the democratic electoral process in Haiti. That resolution called upon the Secretary-General, inter alia, in cooperation with regional organizations and Member States, to provide the broadest possible support to the Government of Haiti with a view to sending a group of observers with regard to the electoral process that was to take place in that country.

Both the Haitian people and the international community watched the successful electoral process with keen satisfaction. As a result, Jean-Bertrand Aristide was elected President - the first democratically elected President in Haiti. He was sworn in on 7 February 1991.

It was with surprise and indignation that the world found out on Monday, 30 September, that brutal military action had deposed the constitutionally elected President. This led to protests in Haiti, as well as in the major cities of other countries.

The Organization of American States, by resolution of its Permanent Council, convened on 30 September last an ad hoc meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, in accordance with resolution 1080 (XXI-O/91), to consider the situation in Haiti. Last night, after having heard President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the meeting adopted resolution MRE/RES.1/91, which, above and beyond condemning what occurred, calls for full respect for constitutional rule and for the immediate return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to office and the exercise of his legitimate authority.

To discharge this mandate, tomorrow a mission composed of the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States and of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Argentina, Bolivia, Canada, Costa Rica, the United States of America, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago and Venezuela will travel to

(Mr. Flores Bermudez, Honduras)

Haiti to tell those who are in power that the American States reject the interruption of constitutional order and to convey to them decisions adopted by the Ministers. Moreover, the Governments of our region have publicly voiced their rejection of the unacceptable action that has interrupted democratic life in Haiti.

In view of the commitment that was entered into by the General Assembly of the United Nations to promote the electoral process in Haiti, because of the sovereign right of that people to determine its own destiny, and in view of the efforts that the people of Haiti have been making to consolidate their democratic institutions, as well as because of the serious events that have occurred in Haiti - events that have been widely referred to - the Group of Latin American and Caribbean States has requested the inclusion of the item "Crisis of democracy and human rights in Haiti" on the agenda of this regular session of the General Assembly, in accordance with article 15 of its rules of procedure.

(Mr. Flores Bermudez, Honduras)

The urgency of this request is clear. The constitutional order has been brutally disrupted and the media are reporting many deaths and repressive measures designed to consolidate the hold of the coup plotters. It is therefore a matter of urgency that the people of Haiti should feel that the international community is supporting its legitimate democratic aspirations and that, at the same time, those who have usurped power should know that their inadmissible conduct cannot bear fruit, and that it shall not bear fruit.

We shall not rest until President Aristide returns to the post to which his people elected him. For this to happen, international solidarity with Haiti will have to be stronger than ever before. The struggle for liberty concerns us all, and a defeat in Haiti would be a defeat for the cause of democracy. Our continent wants to be a stony place for dictatorships.

It is very clear in all our minds that, as President Aristide said, to remedy the indescribable harm that has been done in Haiti, we all prefer to use diplomatic and peaceful means. We must use them, therefore, with all vigour. Our solidarity must be solid as a rock and unequivocal. It is essential to succeed, and quickly.

The Group of Latin American and Caribbean States trusts that the Security Council will support the actions taken by the regional organization and will remain on watch for the results of this major diplomatic effort.

In conclusion, I should like to express the gratitude of our regional group to all the countries and groups which have expressed their support for the measures and action taken towards re-establishing the constitutional order in Haiti.

Mr. BECHIO (Côte d'Ivoire) (interpretation from French): In this particularly busy month, in which there are important issues on the Council's agenda, I am gratified to see you, Sir, presiding over our work. We are convinced that your wisdom and your long diplomatic experience will ensure the success of our deliberations.

Allow me to extend to your predecessor, His Excellency Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee, our congratulations on his competent guidance of our work during the month of September.

My delegation listened with great emotion to the statement by the President of Haiti and gives him its total support. We hope that he will return to Haiti very soon and that he will be restored to his legitimate rights.

It is sad to note that we are meeting yet again, for the second time in eight days, to deplore the use of violence instead of dialogue, concertation and reason. Yet again blood has been shed, and, even more serious, the use of force has had as its sole objective the overthrow of a Government which was democratically elected less than a year ago. Indeed, by sending a group of United Nations observers to monitor the elections in Haiti, the United Nations played a crucial and a successful role in organizing the elections and in installing Father Aristide on 7 February last as President of Haiti.

Our delegation cannot fail to express its keen concern in the wake of this violent act, which is a regrettable, indeed inadmissible, interruption of the democratic process which was opening the way to a new era of peace and development for the people of Haiti, sorely tried by so many years of dictatorship. My country therefore supports any effort undertaken within the regional framework to bring the perpetrators of this coup to their senses, for the good of all the people of Haiti. Haiti, a country which is amongst the

(Mr. Bechio, Côte d'Ivoire)

most disadvantaged in the Americas, needs peace in democracy in order to concentrate all its efforts, all its human resources on economic and social development.

In May, the General Assembly unanimously approved emergency assistance for Haiti. This political instability cannot but be an obstacle in the way of the action taken by the United Nations and other specialized agencies to promote development in that country. The perpetrators of this violent act must bear in mind the interests of the people of Haiti, which expressed its will by democratically electing President Aristide. They must not lose sight of the fact that without democracy there can be no peace, and without peace there cannot be the development needed to put an end to poverty.

My country is in favour of firm support for the efforts undertaken by the Organization of American States, which met yesterday in Washington to adopt measures aimed at restoring legitimate authority in Haiti.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Côte d'Ivoire for his very kind words addressed to me.

Mr. VIVIEN (France) (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all, Sir, to extend to you, both personally and on behalf of my delegation, warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the Security Council.

It is an honour for my delegation and for me personally to be present this evening at this meeting of the Security Council in which President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was kind enough to participate in person.

Allow me, having listened very carefully to his words, to pay a tribute to President Aristide for his courage, his determination and his devotion to the Haitian people, who, with their votes and with their support, placed their

(Mr. Vivien, France)

full confidence in him. We can imagine, today, the distress of the Haitian people at this attempt to rob them of their victory.

Our meeting is taking place at a tragic moment in the history of Haiti. Late last year, the people of Haiti were in a position, for the first time, to appoint their representatives by means of free and democratic elections. Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide was then elevated, by a very large majority, to become Head of State. The United Nations, by effecting international monitoring of the electoral process, ensured that the results of the ballot were not open to question.

A bloody coup d'état has now challenged - and we hope that this will be a temporary state of affairs - the freely expressed will of the Haitian people to rejoin the community of democratic States. This unjustifiable act, which has forced President Aristide to leave Haiti and is accompanied by repression of a particularly brutal kind, is putting the Haitian nation in very serious danger. Moreover, it is also, in a continent where democracy has become the general rule, obviously swimming against the tide of history.

(Mr. Vivien, France)

France immediately and most strongly condemned the coup d'état and urgently demanded that the constitutional order be re-established in Haiti. It was also concerned, along with other countries friendly to Haiti, with helping President Aristide escape the rebels. Furthermore, the French Government has suspended its bilateral assistance, with the exception of strictly humanitarian measures, until the restoration of the state of law and the return of the legitimate authorities.

Within the international community, indignation and condemnation are unanimous. As evidence of that I cite the Secretary-General's statement of 30 September, the resolution adopted unanimously on the same day by the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, and the firm condemnations issued by various Governments. Decisions were immediately taken throughout the world with a view to isolating the de facto power in Haiti and to signal the international community's determination to obtain the return of the legitimate authorities. The European Community and a great number of States have suspended their aid to Haiti. The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Organization of American States, during a special session yesterday, unanimously adopted a resolution providing for a set of measures along those lines.

France fully supports these initiatives. It believes that everything must be done to achieve the restoration of legal power in Haiti and to ensure that President Aristide is once again able to exercise his lofty functions. In that respect, the United Nations has a particular responsibility to shoulder, since there has been a direct attack on its authority. The French Government believes that the United Nations must take a stand as soon as possible to condemn the coup d'état, to demand the re-establishment of the

(Mr. Vivien, France)

state of law in Haiti and to support the efforts undertaken on the regional level by the Organization of American States.

Each of us is aware of the exceptional nature of the circumstances that have given rise to our meeting. The Head of a sovereign State, legally elected in a free and democratic ballot monitored by the United Nations, is personally addressing the international community to request its support. For its part, France is ready to respond to this appeal. It is ready, out of friendship for Haiti - to which it is united by longstanding and close ties of language and history - because our Organization, which lent its assistance during the elections and its guarantee for the conduct of the voting and the fairness of the results, cannot remain passive when today the will of the Haitian voters is flouted; and because, finally, the international community can no longer, in an era when throughout the world democracy and respect for human rights are being reaffirmed, accept the flagrant violation of these values.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of France for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. HOHENFELLNER (Austria): I should like first to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I am sure that your very well-known diplomatic skill will guide us through a very difficult month of work. I should also like to express my deep gratitude to Ambassador Merimee of France for his brilliant work as President of the Council in the month of September.

Austria strongly condemns the recent military coup in Haiti which has resulted in a temporary overthrow of constitutional rule. These grave events, which forced President Jean-Bertrand Aristide - the first President of Haiti to be elected in free and democratic elections under international observation

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

by the United Nations and the Organization of American States - temporarily to leave his country to ensure his safety, are in blatant contradiction to the world-wide march towards democracy, freedom and respect for human rights.

As your predecessor, Mr. President, said on 12 September:

"The wheels of history have been turning. The winds of freedom have been blowing down old structures. We are entering a world where perhaps there is less order, but where there is ever more hope." (S/PV.3007, pp. 4-5)

Haiti will be no exception. Those who now hold power in Port-au-Prince must realize that their rule will be short lived. They can only delay but not avoid the return of democracy to Haiti.

We call for the immediate restoration of Haiti's legitimate, democratically elected Government, the return to the path of constitutionality and the full respect for human rights. Only in this way will Haiti again be able to take its place as a fully respected member of the international community. Those at present in power must also realize, before it is too late, that the alternative is isolation. They would then be responsible, before history and in the eyes of the Haitian people, for having deprived this long-suffering people of the economic and social development which they so urgently require.

The reaction of the international community to the events in Haiti is of a paradigmatic importance that transcends the present case. Democracy and respect for human rights are being increasingly accepted as central principles for the further evolution of the society of nations. A new universal consensus is taking shape; a new era is dawning. Nobody has put it better than the Secretary-General in his seminal address at the University of Bordeaux on 24 April 1991:

(Mr. Hohenfellner, Austria)

"We are clearly witnessing what is probably an irresistible shift in public attitudes towards the belief that the defence of the oppressed in the name of morality should prevail over frontiers and legal documents."

The Council, with its new-found determination, can make an important contribution.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the Permanent Representative of Austria for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. AL-ASHTAL (Yemen) (interpretation from Arabic): At the outset, I should like to convey to you, Sir, our most sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. We have had first-hand experience of your outstanding qualities, which will help to steer the Council to its desired objectives this month.

I also wish to thank the French Ambassador, Mr. Merimee, who guided the work of the Council last month.

We have listened with great interest to the important statement of the legitimate President of Haiti, Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide. We heard this democratically elected President, against whom there has been an illegal coup d'état, calmly appeal to the Council and the international community to support legitimacy in Haiti and assist in restoring the legitimate Government there.

(Mr. Al-Ashtal, Yemen)

Mr. Aristide was the first Haitian President to be elected in a free democratic ballot under United Nations supervision. A few months later the plotters carried out their coup d'état.

Yemen, which is engaged in a democratic experiment that is unique in our region, strongly condemns that coup d'état and declares its complete solidarity with the legitimate Government of Haiti.

We also wish to convey our condolences to all Haitians and to the families of those who fell victim to murder and anarchy.

We support the measures adopted by the Organization of American States to return the situation to normal.

Haiti has given us a new third-world model of democratic progress. We greatly admire the unique experience of that country - a country that suffers from severe economic problems. At the same time, however, we see in the coup d'état in Haiti a manifestation of the dangers that can threaten new democratic regimes due to the lack of democratic traditions, the fact that democratic institutions are not deeply rooted and, more than anything else, because of economic problems.

Those who perpetrated the coup d'état have tried to justify their actions by the lack of economic progress and the existence of a recession. Therefore, while we condemn the coup d'état and call on the United Nations to support all efforts to restore legitimacy, we appeal to the United Nations and to all countries which are able to help democratic or newly democratized countries in the task of building their new institutions to extend that help. At the same time, we reaffirm the necessity of restoring the legitimate regime in Haiti so that these events may be a lesson to all those who may contemplate coups d'état and the overthrow of legitimate regimes.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Yemen for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. NOTERDAEME (Belgium) (interpretation from French): Allow me first of all, Sir, to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council. Thanks to your experience and your abilities as a diplomat, the Council will be in very good hands this month.

I want also to thank the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Merimee, for the efficiency and courtesy with which he guided our work during the month of September.

My delegation listened with great attention and emotion to the statement of the Reverend Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the first President of Haiti to be freely elected by his people. We thank him for his statement and for the information he provided.

Belgium wants to reiterate its position, already stated by its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Mark Eyskens, and by the European Community in a statement issued today at The Hague. It reaffirms its unequivocal condemnation of the coup d'état that took place in Haiti in defiance of the will of the people; its support for President Aristide and for the Haitian democratic forces; and its appeal for an immediate return to legality and for the restoration of the legitimate authorities in Haiti. My delegation recalls too that the European Community and its member States have decided in the circumstances to suspend all economic assistance to Haiti.

That position derives from Belgium's dedication to democracy and to the right of peoples to express themselves freely through elections. My country recently demonstrated that dedication within the United Nations by sponsoring a draft resolution aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of the principle of periodic, honest elections.

(Mr. Noterdaeme, Belgium)

It is in that spirit that Belgium has participated in several United Nations operations aimed at enabling certain peoples to express themselves through free and fair elections: in Namibia, in Nicaragua and - ironically, in the light of current events - in Haiti itself.

A member of the European Community, the Council of Europe and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Belgium is convinced that regional organizations have a role to play in the protection, the re-establishment and the spread of freedom and democracy.

Thus, we cannot but welcome the firm position taken by the Organization of American States in the resolution adopted yesterday in Washington. My delegation believes that the Security Council must support it fully.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Belgium for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (interpretation from Russian): I want first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month and to express our confidence that your wealth of political and diplomatic experience will ensure that the work of the Council will be dynamic and effective in October.

Let me also thank your predecessor, the Permanent Representative of France, Ambassador Merimee, for the great diplomatic skill he demonstrated as he guided the work of the Council in September.

We listened with great attention and empathy to the statement of the President of Haiti, Mr. Jean-Bertrand Aristide. I am confident it left no one in this Chamber unmoved. On behalf of the Soviet Union we convey to

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

President Aristide our support, our sympathy and our conviction that the cause of democracy in Haiti will triumph.

The Soviet delegation also listened very carefully to the statement of the Permanent Representative of Honduras, speaking on behalf of the States of the Latin American and Caribbean Group. We note with satisfaction the determination of members of the Organization of American States to champion the political rights and freedoms of the Haitian people.

The Soviet Union was deeply concerned at reports of the coup d'état in Haiti perpetrated by a group of officers headed by the commander of the armed forces. This led to the overthrow of a Government legally and democratically elected on the basis of the free expression of the will of the Haitian people, under United Nations supervision. Members will understand why the Soviet people reacted with concern and alarm to news of the anti-Government putsch in Haiti.

(Mr. Vorontsov, USSR)

The Soviet Union firmly condemns the anti-constitutional actions in Haiti. Their tragic result is the death of people and the violation of the democratic process, which has the mass support of the Haitian people. The events in Haiti go against the region's steady movement towards peace and democracy, and they demonstrate that democratic processes are still vulnerable in the face of the force of terror and weapons.

The urgent need for international resistance to inhumane actions is perfectly clear. Such actions, wherever they may occur, undermine the constitutional order.

What is particularly important in this case is the proposal put forward at the twenty-first session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States (OAS) concerning the establishment of machinery to protect democracy and the legal order in countries that belong to the OAS. We note that within the framework of this regional organization measures are now being taken with a view to restoring legitimate power in Haiti.

We express the hope that the escalation of violence in Haiti will immediately be halted and that the constitutional order in that country will be restored as soon as possible.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): Let me first, Sir, extend to you our congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council. We also extend our thanks to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee of France for his leadership of the Council's work in September.

Let no one doubt where the United States stands. The United States condemns this assault on Haiti's democratically elected Government and on the

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

people of Haiti who elected that Government, and we condemn the violence committed against innocent people. We fully support the demand by the Organization of American States (OAS) for the immediate restoration of President Aristide's legitimate, constitutional rule. The United States does not, and will not, recognize the self-appointed junta which has illegally usurped power in Haiti.

It was only last year that the people of Haiti won their democratic rights through elections which were held with unprecedented international support. The United Nations, the Organization of American States and the world democratic community helped monitor and verify that the election process was open, free and fair. Jean-Bertrand Aristide is the democratically elected President of Haiti. We have just heard first hand, in an eloquent, moving and important statement, about the sordid events in his country. He and his Government deserve our support, and we are pleased that you, Sir, as President of the Council, have expressed so clearly this evening directly to President Aristide, on behalf of all of us, that support. But such support must consist of more than words. The United States has suspended all assistance to Haiti. The Governments of France, Canada and Venezuela, as well as the European Community and others, have done the same.

This is also a time for collective action. The Organization of American States adopted yesterday at the ministerial level a resolution which among other things: energetically condemns the coup in Haiti and demands the full restoration of constitutional order and the immediate reinstatement of President Aristide; calls on the Secretary-General of the Organization of American States, together with a group of Organization of American States Foreign Ministers, to travel to Haiti to inform the junta that the American

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

States reject the coup - that mission leaves tomorrow morning; recommends that States and international organizations suspend assistance to Haiti; recommends that States diplomatically isolate Haiti; calls upon all States to cease transfers of military or police assistance, weapons and munitions to Haiti; and urges the United Nations and its specialized agencies to take into account the spirit and aims of the OAS resolution.

The United States strongly supports the OAS resolution, and we call upon other members of the Council to do the same.

We must not now allow the hard-won democratic rights of the people of Haiti to slip away. The United Nations is especially qualified to speak to this crisis, since the United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti played a key role in restoring democracy in Haiti.

The United Nations, and the entire world, must send a clear message to those who have seized power in Haiti: This junta is illegitimate. It has no standing in the international community. Until democracy is restored this junta will be treated in this hemisphere as a pariah - without assistance, without friends and without a future.

To the people of Haiti we send the following message: Do not despair. You are not alone; the people of the world are with you.

My Government also calls upon all the people in Haiti, military and civilian, regardless of political persuasion, to desist from all violent actions. As Secretary of State Baker said yesterday in the ministerial meeting of the Organization of American States,

> "... violence only begets more violence, and the path to justice lies in the rule of law, not in recourse to violence."

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

Our hemisphere's progress towards democracy has been remarkable and heartening. As recently as the mid-1970s there were over a dozen non-democratic regimes in the hemisphere. A few days ago only one dictatorship remained. The armed men who seized power in Haiti are marching against the tide of history. They will not prevail; we are convinced that democracy will triumph.

When the people of Haiti held elections less than a year ago they chose a path of political development based on law, conducted in peace and aspiring to justice. This unconstitutional and violent seizure of power denies the people of Haiti their right of self-determination. This violent and illegal action must not, and will not, succeed. The inalienable right of all of the people of Haiti to democracy and constitutional rule must be restored.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United States of America for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA (Zaire) (interpretation from French): It is a most pleasant duty for me, Sir, to congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. Your intellectual and professional qualities, as well as your long diplomatic experience and your deep knowledge of international relations, are well known. They guarantee the success of the Council's work during October.

I should be remiss if I did not express our gratitude to Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee for carrying out with distinction his work as President of the Council last month.

The Council has before it yet again an extremely important question, this time involving the political life of the people of Haiti, because of the

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

tragic events that have just taken place, which have challenged the sacrosanct principle of democracy in that country.

We have just heard a most instructive statement, made with great emotion, by Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the legitimate, elected President of Haiti. It was a kind of lesson for the whole Security Council.

(Mr. Bagbeni Adeito Nzengeya, Zaire)

It also enables the members of the Council and the international community as a whole to grasp more clearly the scope and seriousness of the events which took place in Haiti on 29 September. My delegation therefore gives its full support to the resolutions adopted, on the one hand by the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States, which met on 30 September last in Washington, and, on the other hand by the ad hoc meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of that same body on 2 October last. Indeed, in those resolutions they condemn those events, which infringe the exercise of democratic procedures in that country, and they demand the restoration of the legitimate power resulting from the recent democratic presidential elections in that country.

My delegation also hopes that the delegation of the Organization of American States which will soon be going to Port-au-Prince will be heard by the usurpers of that power and that they will reap the results they expect.

My delegation believes that the Security Council will not be satisfied until legitimacy is re-established in Haiti so that all of the people of that country may be able to enjoy the constitutional rights and the benefits of democracy and, accordingly, participate fully in the political and administrative management of their country.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zaire for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. ALARCON de QUESADA (Cuba) (interpretation from Spanish): Allow me, first of all, to express my delegation's deep satisfaction at seeing you presiding over the proceedings of our Council. We are sure that under your wise guidance the Council will live up to its great responsibility. I should like also once again to express our thanks to Ambassador Merimee, the

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Permanent Representative of France, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the Council last month.

From the eastern boundary of the Cuban province of Guantanamo one can see Haitian land. We are very close, just about as close as from here to Ambassador Longchamp. The geographical proximity of our two countries has been a bridge as well as a boundary forming a close historical tie. We therefore share the universal concern about the events that are currently taking place in that fraternal land. That concern was expressed in an official statement by the Foreign Minister of Cuba, in which he stated the following:

> "The Government of the Republic of Cuba has received with deep indignation information from Port-au-Prince concerning the overthrow of the constitutionally elected Government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide by means of a bloody military coup. Given such events, the Government of Cuba expresses its most energetic condemnation and calls for the restoration of the legitimate Government of President Aristide, who, for the first time in the recent history of that nation and with obvious popular support, was offering Haiti an alternative in dealing with the serious problems afflicting that Caribbean country. The Government and people of Cuba reiterate their solidarity with the Haitian people at this time at which their most deeply felt desires for a better future are being dashed."

We have therefore listened with keen attention and emotion to what was said to the Council this evening by President Aristide. His remarks brought to mind the prophetic words spoken by Toussaint-Louverture, when he was being taken in chains from his dear homeland to a prison where a short time later he

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

died in the most cruel conditions. This great Haitian patriot stated at that time, on 7 June 1802:

"In destroying me you have only cut down the tree of freedom in Santo Domingo: it will grow again from its roots, which are deep and numerous."

It is probable that at that time his jailers were unable to imagine that that humble man, that liberator of slaves, was in fact announcing what history would prove to be a reality. We are thankful to the Haitian people and their legitimately elected President that they have shown us, here tonight, that in fact those deep and numerous roots will live again. We believe that, despite the repression of which it is now victim, despite the criminal actions which some have launched against that people, it will be reborn because its roots are indeed many and deep.

Because of the geographical and historical proximity of our country to the Haitian people it is possible for us to understand something of the exemplary, indeed almost unique evolution of a brotherly people, the first people that uttered the cry, in America, for freedom and the first to call for the emancipation of the slaves. It was a people that for two centuries had to struggle in the most difficult circumstances, often alone, in order to exercise their dearest national rights.

That is why my delegation immediately expressed itself in favour of having the Security Council meet three nights ago, on 30 September 1991, when we first received the official communiqué from Ambassador Longchamp calling for the immediate convening of the Council. My delegation considers that this body had an obligation to agree to this request and to listen to what the representative of Haiti deemed appropriate to explain to us. We are pleased

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

that finally, three days later, we have been privileged to hear, in the most authoritative voice, that of President Aristide, the statement to which we have all listened.

Of course, my delegation shares the position of the Latin American and Caribbean Group, which has been expressed to the Council by our colleague, the Permanent Representative of Honduras, who is the current Chairman of our Group.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

We would like to point out that, as President Aristide recalled, it is not a question of anyone deciding for the Haitian people. Rather, what is involved is having us support the Haitian people, giving that people clear and firm solidarity so that it may soon restore its legitimately elected authorities and proceed with the process that had finally begun and was the culmination of a 200-year struggle. Two hundred years of heroic struggle beginning with what occurred in a clearing in the Cayman forest on 14 August 1791. Sometimes we talk about anniversaries; we frequently recall some, but rarely do we remember that we are living 200 years after the first time in history that the slaves of Africa broke their chains and thus began the process of American emancipation.

Since that heroic dawn, many times in total isolation the Haitian people had to wage the most difficult struggle against the powerful of the Earth who refused to respect their inalienable rights and who wished to continue to deal with Haiti as if it were still a plantation of slaves. Two hundred years of struggle against those who, with racist and colonial attitudes, attempted to impose their will upon the world and impose upon others the way in which they should organize their societies.

At this time I do not wish to dwell at length on a response - which is really unnecessary - to the statement of Ambassador Pickering. I would simply like to pose some simple questions. Perhaps he has heard of Charlemagne Peralte. Perhaps in the archives of the State Department it is recorded that on a day in October of 1919 that marvellous fighter against American imperialism in Haiti was crucified. Perhaps he will remember who it was who assassinated him.

(Mr. Alarcon de Quesada, Cuba)

Perhaps he will also remember who protected and supported the tyranny of Duvalier, who armed and trained his henchmen, who armed and trained those self-same putschists that now are violating the rights of the Haitian people and are cruelly massacring them. If he were to be so kind as to tell us that those who armed those assassins, trained them, protected them, denied the Haitian people their democratic rights for generations were not from the United States, he would have the right to talk about democracy when we are talking about the tragedy of Haiti, because that tragedy first and foremost began and has continued because of foreign intervention.

The action of the international community must be in solidarity with the Haitian people. But at no time whatsoever can we let that solidarity be used in the same manner as it has been used and is being used for centuries by the racists to dictate to the black people and the people of the third world how they must live. If anyone has taught oppressors that their goal is in vain, it is the people of Haiti. If anyone has shown that the people are able to resist, confront the power of the powerful and affirm their rights, it is the people of Haiti, to which tonight we pay a tribute and reiterate our fullest solidarity which, unlike that of others, has the virtue of being the sincere solidarity of a brother.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Cuba for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. MUNTEANU (Romania): I should like first of all to convey to you, Sir, my delegation's sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of October. I am confident that under your stewardship the Council will fulfil its mandate with success during this very busy period.

(Mr. Munteanu, Romania)

I take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Ambassador Merimee of France for the excellent work done under his leadership during September.

My delegation joins other delegations in expressing our deep respect and solidarity to the President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, who has made a very impressive exposé before the Council. Indeed, it is the political and moral duty of the Security Council, which is officially and legally seized of the situation in Haiti, to voice its support for the constitutional order in that country and for its democratic, freely chosen institutions and structures. We fully support the struggle and aspirations for freedom and democracy throughout the world. Therefore, it is quite natural for us to have deep feelings of solidarity for the people of Haiti and with its democratically elected President, who has so eloquently defended the noble cause of his country and his people before the Council.

Romania knows the value of freedom and democracy, and its support for democratically elected government is based on its own dramatic experience. We have followed with great concern the brutal attempts to suppress the results of the democratic process in Haiti. We welcome the resolution adopted by the Organization of American States (OAS) for the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the specific diplomatic measures undertaken to that end. We express wishes for full success to the mission entrusted by the OAS to deal with the situation in Haiti and to help settle it peacefully.

We are also of the opinion that the regional efforts should be strengthened by the action of the Security Council in the most appropriate form, given the prevailing circumstances. What is vital now in this regard is to pass on to those who seized power in Port-au-Prince a very clear message that the Council is in favour of the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the

(Mr. Munteanu, Romania)

defence of basic human rights and freedom in that country. Such a message should be conveyed by the unanimous voice of the Council. That would be consonant with the specific, or rather, the dramatic circumstances of the case, with the dignity of the Council and with the requirements of its unity which is its valuable asset in dealing with such complex matters.

In the light of this position, my delegation fully supports any further effort of the Security Council to help the restoration of freedom and democracy in Haiti.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Romania for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (interpretation from Spanish): Sir, allow me at the outset to repeat here my personal congratulations and the congratulations of Ecuador at this time when you are taking up your duties as President of the Security Council. I should like to reiterate also the gratitude of the delegation of Ecuador to Ambassador Merimee for the very competent manner in which the representative of France guided the work of the Council last month.

We have all listened with keen attention to the words of the President of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, and their tragic and enlightening contents have moved us deeply. It could not be otherwise. Latin America has been laboriously but diligently establishing a process of permanent democratization and has done so with obvious success. This process, which has not been without difficulties, has met with interest and general support and has called for collective responsibility to promote it and to ensure that it can be carried out effectively.

One of the last countries of our hemisphere to attain a legal democratic government was the Republic of Haiti, and it did so to a large extent by means of the timely and effective support of the United Nations, as reflected in the assistance given to it to carry out free and fair elections. For those two basic reasons, it is particularly sad that the democratic process in Haiti has been interrupted and that an attempt has thus been made to affect the general process of freedom and democracy in Latin America.

(Mr. Ayala Lasso, Ecuador)

If it is a Latin American duty and a hemispheric duty to give full support to the restoration of the rule of law in Haiti, to ensure that its legitimate and constitutional government can once again exercise the power that was conferred upon it by the people and that the measures that were adopted by the Organization of American States will be effective, in such circumstances the Security Council has shouldered its responsibility. In fact, the Council has demonstrated by its words that it is unanimous in condemning the coup d'état, condemning the acts that have led to the shedding of innocent blood in Haiti, and expressing the hope that the rule of law will be restored as soon as possible and that President Aristide will be able to resume the office of President of Haiti. The Council has also expressed solidarity with the measures that have been adopted by the Organization of American States and expressed its wish that they might be effective.

I think that the Council has done what it could do and must do in the circumstances, and I think that all members of the Council are ready to shoulder new responsibilities if circumstances make it necessary in the future. In any case we hope that the action of the regional organization will be effective and that the Haitian people will be able to resume the free exercise of democracy, through which it elected President Aristide as its legitimate President.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Ecuador for his kind words addressed to me.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, I will begin by congratulating you on the assumption of the Chair for this month and congratulating also your predecessor, Mr. Merimee, on the great distinction with which he occupied it last month.

I should like, on behalf of my delegation, to support very strongly the words which you, Mr. President, used when you replied, on behalf of all of us, to President Aristide's sombre but dignified speech to the Council and in particular when you uttered a strong condemnation of the coup, when you gave a clear call from the Council to reverse that action, when you expressed our firm support for the resolution and the action being undertaken by the Organization of American States and when you expressed the hope that a president elected in free and fair elections would soon be able to return to his country and take up his office.

My delegation is particularly saddened because we were presiding over this Council last October, when the Council supported the efforts by the Secretary-General to act in such a way as to assist the conduct of those elections, and it is particularly sad that that story should have ended as it has done. Those elections brought democracy to the second last country in the hemisphere not to choose its rulers through the ballot box. The democratic movement throughout Latin America must not now be reversed. That is why so much rides on the restoration of President Aristide and his Government.

The British Government will work with others in this Council and in the General Assembly to bring that restoration about.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. MUMBENGEGWI (Zimbabwe): Sir, my delegation is happy to see you assume the presidency of the Council for the month of October. The indications are that this will be a busy month for the Council, but we have no doubt that under your wise guidance the Council's proceedings during the month will be fruitful. I should like also to thank the Permanent Representative of France, Mr. Merimee, for the able and skilful manner in which he presided over our deliberations for the month of September.

The moving statement by the democratically elected President of Haiti has clearly laid before us the sad events in his country. My delegation would like to express our thanks and appreciation to the President. I should like also to express our appreciation for the very appropriate manner in which you, Mr. President, responded on our behalf.

The presentation by the representative of Honduras on behalf of the Latin American and Caribbean States showed the commitment and determination of the Organization of American States to assist the people of Haiti. Zimbabwe supports their efforts. It is our hope that these efforts will lead to the early restoration of the democratically elected Government of Haiti.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Canada. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. FORTIER (Canada) (interpretation from French): Allow me, first of all, to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Council and to wish you all the success you deserve during the Council's deliberations. I should also like to associate myself with the congratulations addressed to Ambassador Merimee, the Permanent Representative of France, on the way in which he guided the Council's work during the month of September.

My delegation welcomes this opportunity to address the Security Council this evening on the situation in Haiti because, inter alia, Canada is geographically, like Haiti, part of the American hemisphere and because our two countries have been linked by very close ties for a long time.

We listened closely and with great feeling to the remarks made earlier this evening by His Excellency President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. I should like to begin my remarks by reiterating that the Government of Canada fully supports and unconditionally recognizes President Aristide as the only legitimate head of the Government of Haiti.

I need not remind the Security Council that it was the United Nations, through the United Nations Observer Group for the Verification of the Elections in Haiti (ONUVEH) and working in concert with the Organization of American States (OAS), that monitored the holding of the free and fair elections that resulted in President Aristide's assuming office earlier this year.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

When Canada was a member of the Security Council in 1990, my delegation worked very closely with other Council members to find a suitable response to the request of Mrs. Ertha Pascal-Trouillot - who was then Haiti's interim President - for international assistance in the holding of elections in her country. The Council then unanimously urged the Secretary-General to respond positively to Haiti's request for assistance.

Almost one year ago exactly, on 10 October 1990, the General Assembly adopted the resolution in which it requested the Secretary-General to provide the broadest possible support to the Government of Haiti in the holding of free and fair elections.

Canada was proud to provide ONUVEH with the necessary security personnel and poll-watchers, as well as the officer in charge of ONUVEH's security contingent. We were also proud that the elections in December 1990 were carried out peacefully, thus enabling the people of Haiti freely to exercise their sovereign right to choose their own destiny.

Canada deplores the attempt a few days ago by certain military officers to usurp power in Haiti and undermine the democratic process in that country. Canada condemns the perpetrators of that coup, who have stained their hands with the blood of their fellow citizens. We in Ottawa have suspended our development assistance programme for Haiti and have undertaken a thorough review of our relations with that country. Working in concert with fellow members of the Organization of American States (OAS), we adopted early this morning, at the OAS ministerial meeting, a resolution that reinforces the international community's condemnation of the grave events that have taken place in Haiti.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

As the Secretary of State for External Affairs of Canada, the Honourable Barbara McDougall, said at the OAS meeting yesterday, measures taken by Canada or any other country in an individual capacity are not likely in themselves to restore President Aristide to power and to re-establish democracy in Haiti. That is why it is extremely important that all countries act together to send an absolutely clear signal to those who seek to undermine democracy in Haiti that their efforts are doomed to failure.

The United Nations, having played a crucial role in the process that brought President Aristide to power, cannot remain silent on this matter. That is why my country supports the holding of this meeting of the Security Council. That is also why we are in favour of the inclusion of an additional item in the agenda of the General Assembly to enable it to consider the threat to democracy and human rights in Haiti.

Canada and other countries have taken measures designed to bring about the peaceful restoration of democracy in Haiti. The members of the Organization of American States have decided on joint action. Canada sincerely hopes that now the United Nations will, both in word and in deed, join in the efforts being made to reverse a situation that is totally unacceptable in today's world.

We should like to thank you, Mr. President, most particularly for the words you uttered earlier this evening concerning Haiti and its President, who addressed the Council at this table.

In conclusion, let me express my Government's hope that President Aristide will soon be able to return to Port-au-Prince and take up again all his functions as the lawfully and democratically elected President of the Republic of Haiti.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Canada for the kind words he addressed to me.

There are no further speakers for this meeting. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 11.15 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3012
11 October 1991

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND AND TWELFTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 11 October 1991, at 5.20 p.m.

President:	Mr. GHAREKHAN	(India)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mrs. KABA
	Cuba	Mr. ZAMORA RODRIGUEZ
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Romania	Mr. FLOREAN
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 5.30 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION BETWEEN IRAQ AND KUWAIT

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/22871/Rev.1)

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL (S/22872/Rev.1 and Corr.1)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Iraq in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Al-Anbari (Iraq) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General contained in document S/22871/Rev.1 and the note by the Secretary-General contained in documents S/22872/Rev.1 and Corr.1.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/23134, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Belgium, France, Romania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I call on the representative of Iraq.

Mr. AL-ANBARI (Iraq) (interpretation from Arabic): First, Sir, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. I have complete confidence, in view of your vast experience, that you will be able to guide the Council's deliberations with great ability and objectivity.

I also take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to the Ambassador of France, Mr. Mérimée, for his intensive efforts and the outstanding ability which he demonstrated in his stewardship of the Council during the past month.

The draft resolution seems at first sight to be a detailed procedural draft regarding the implementation of paragraph 10 of resolution 687 (1991) of 3 April 1991 in addition to paragraph 13 of that resolution. However, this is not the case. The draft resolution goes far beyond the horizons and objectives of that resolution and, contrary to the provisions of the Charter, aims to put Iraq under the permanent trusteeship of the Special Commission on armaments and to maintain the trade sanctions system indefinitely, contrary to the provisions of that resolution.

The draft resolution also seeks to establish permanent international mechanisms to tighten control on Iraq's future and prevent Iraq from carrying out economic and scientific development, at great cost to Iraq.

The draft resolution introduces very serious principles. However, the greatest danger is in the plan prepared by the Special Commission on armaments, contained in document S/22871/Rev.1 of 2 October 1991. The plan omits no detail affecting civil or military life. All those aspects, together with all Iraqi scientific institutions and educational institutes are placed under tight control and severe restrictions, in an absolutist and arbitrary fashion.

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

The plan has been drawn up in great detail with a great deal of complexity. Those details are scattered all over the text, but are intertwined with the threads of all the plan's provisions and those of the so-called four annexes that form an integral part of the plan. Therefore, it is no wonder that many of those concerned with the plan did not fully examine its details and accepted it in good faith as a technical plan to implement paragraph 10 of resolution 687 (1991), adopted six months ago, which has become a fait accompli. They think, therefore, that the plan does not warrant further examination and could not be more serious than resolution 687 (1991) itself.

I should like to cite first paragraph 13 of the plan, which reads:

"In accepting unconditionally Security Council resolution 687 (1991) Iraq has undertaken"

to accept all the items mentioned in that paragraph. It is my duty, in deference to the behests of truth and history, to express the deep regret and disappointment of both the Government and people of Iraq that Iraq accepted resolution 687 (1991) without a guarantee in advance that the Council would lift the economic blockade against Iraq and refrain from adopting one resolution after another against Iraq and its people. Resolution 687 (1991) has become like a mythical tree which goes on sprouting branches that have no relationship with the resolution itself, and indeed are contrary to its provisions.

Iraq accepted resolution 687 (1991) and previous resolutions and implemented their provisions in good faith. Iraq did this, unfortunately, in the erroneous belief that the Council, in return, would look at the economic sanctions and other arbitrary measures adopted by the Council against the

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

people and Government of Iraq. It is regrettable that Iraq has played its part but the Council has failed not only to fulfil its mandate but has tightened its sanctions against Iraq. In simple language, the Security Council has not adhered to its own resolutions as it has transformed the cease-fire resolution 687 (1991) into a document that makes the Iraqi Government and people hostage of one or two States with veto power in the Council.

I must also warn that if this plan is implemented against Iraq, many of the countries of the developing or the developed worlds which support its implementation either knowingly or out of ignorance, may well find that they will be next in line as potential victims of this plan which embodies, in practical terms, a new type of occupation that, through a system of remote control, dominates every aspect of life in the target country.

Paragraph 10 of resolution 687 (1991)

"Decides that Iraq shall unconditionally undertake not to use, develop, construct or acquire any of the items specified in paragraphs 8 and 9 above and requests the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Special Commission, to develop a plan for the future ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with this paragraph, to be submitted to the Security Council for approval within one hundred and twenty days of the passage of this resolution".

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

The implementation of the first part of the aforementioned paragraph concerns Iraq. It was implemented, as Iraq, in a communication dated 18 April 1991 addressed to the Secretary-General from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, has undertaken, unconditionally, not to use, develop, construct, build or acquire any material specified in paragraphs 7 to 12 of resolution 687 (1991). The latter part of paragraph 10 calls for the formulation of a plan to monitor compliance by Iraq of its obligations under that paragraph and for ongoing verification in future.

The plan contained in the draft resolution, and its implementation, far exceeds that purview and gives the Special Commission and all those authorized by it, unrestricted, permanent and absolute police, political and executive powers. The plan is made up of 45 paragraphs and four annexes that form an integral part of the Plan. Strangely enough, while paragraph 26 stipulates that the Plan may be revised only by the Security Council, it gives the Special Commission the power of revising the annexes of the Plan and informing the Council, without prior Council approval. As the four annexes of the Plan contain detailed provisions that further elaborate the Plan, the Council, by approving the Plan, including paragraph 26, would be giving the Special Commission the authority to amend the Plan itself, which goes beyond the resolution itself.

My question is, does the Council have such authority under the Charter? The first deviation from resolution 687 (1991), especially operative paragraph 10, is what is stated in paragraph 3 of the Plan, which interpreted the future ongoing verification of weapons of mass destruction as inclusive not only of military installations, but also of civil installations and other materials that could be used or the activities that could be undertaken contrary to the obligations of Iraq under resolution 687 (1991).

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

Members may notice that that paragraph in expanding the scope of verification and monitoring to include civilian installations in addition to military installations also refers to everything that might be used contrary to the obligations of Iraq. The expansion of that Plan in such a fashion to include the military and the civilian both actual and potential leaves the door wide open in order to abuse the powers granted to the Special Commission and to all those delegated by the Special Commission.

The Plan calls for establishing an executive body under the authority of the Security Council, as provided for in paragraph 5, and in paragraph 7, establishes a compliance unit under the Special Commission to ensure that Iraq will not import any prohibited material. This is in addition to the roles of the IAEA and the Special Commission itself and the Sanctions Committee established under resolution 661 (1991). This in fact creates a new international organ with numerous offshoots in a manner unprecedented in history. The Plan, in seeking to tighten further the controls against Iraq, is not satisfied with one procedural control mechanism. For instance, paragraph 10 (b) provides that countries that supply Iraq with multipurpose materials - both military and civilian - will provide transparent information under a mechanism to be set up for this purpose. Yet, paragraph 9 of the Plan states that the monitoring and verification are required from within Iraq by the Special Commission and its personnel, who might stay in Iraq for a long time or even permanently. Therefore, in all humility, may I suggest that we confer upon the Head of the Special Commission the title of the political ruler or the High Commissioner as in the old days of colonial rule.

I have pointed out previously that giving any special commission or any body absolute powers in interpreting and implementing the provisions of the

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

Plan, and even amending the Plan, would create the risk of abuse of power, whether intentionally or inadvertently. What might strengthen that possibility is the fact that the Plan puts more obligations on Iraq, and gives undefined and open-ended powers to the monitoring mechanism. For instance, under paragraph 16 (a), the Plan imposes on Iraq the obligation to provide the Commission on a regular basis, with full, complete, correct and timely information on activities, sites, facilities, material and other items that might be used for prohibited purposes. What are those other items, and how could we determine the purpose of using one material today or in future for a prohibited purpose? That same paragraph stipulates elsewhere, that Iraq should provide the Special Commission with similar information that I have just mentioned concerning any additional activities, sites, facilities, materials or other items that the Commission may designate. Paragraph 16 also stipulates that Iraq should fully, completely and promptly respond to any question or request that is made by the Special Commission. Is there any international organization or body that has such absolute power? Is it practicable for any country or any party to answer any question or request irrespective of whether or not it is arbitrary or irrelevant or unanswerable? The Plan makes all these obligations, some of which I have referred to, incumbent upon Iraq and gives the Special Commission and all those delegated by the Commission the right to enter Iraq and leave it without Iraq's approval, to use any sites and airports and to send any persons, irrespective of their nationality or identity or intentions, to enter Iraq and to engage in any activities with full diplomatic immunity and absolute freedom to move inside Iraq and to secure their safety and security, as provided for under paragraph 18 of the Plan.

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

Moreover, in paragraph 20, Iraq shall enact legislation and adopt all necessary measures to implement its obligations under resolution 687 (1991) and resolution 707 (1991) and other related resolutions before the passage of 30 days from the date of adoption of the Plan by the Security Council. This paragraph of the Plan, while it ignores all the legislative and executive measures adopted by Iraq to implement the Security Council's resolutions, comes up with general provisions that Iraq would be required to enforce within 30 days. It seems that the figure 30 has a very special significance in the Plan, given the fact that all the information and special statistics Iraq should provide the Commission with on chemical and biological materials as well as missiles should be submitted within 30 days.

The fact that the Plan far exceeds the Security Council resolutions and the provisions of the Charter becomes more evident in the four annexes to the Plan. For instance, annex I provides that the Special Commission has the right to secure any site and to inspect Iraq's exports and imports and any materials upon their arrival in Iraq or when they leave Iraq. Is the inspection of any material exported or imported by Iraq necessary to ensure compliance by Iraq of its obligations regarding weapons of mass destruction?

Moreover, the Special Commission gives itself, under the Plan, police powers. Under paragraph 9 of that annex, the Special Commission would make its own arrangements to ensure the safety and security of its personnel and property and to seize any material or other item.

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

Please note the general terms "any material or other item". We have the right to ask how the Special Commission could make such arrangements? Would the Special Commission come to Iraq on tanks? Does it have military forces to protect it or enable it to secure any site?

The same annex, in paragraph 10, imposes on Iraq the obligation to ensure the safety and security of the personnel and property of the Special Commission, and so on. The proposed Plan is unique in its deliberate complexity and scattering of intertwined provisions in a manner that would make it extremely difficult to implement, while it makes it easy to claim that its provisions are being contravened.

For example, paragraph 6 of annex II calls for the provision of information on sites or facilities, including the name of the site or facility and of the owner, company or enterprise operating the site or facility; the location of the site or facility; a general description of all types of activities at the site or facility; and the sources and amounts of the financing of the site or facility, and of its activities. Paragraph 8 calls for the provision of information in addition to that specified in paragraph 6. Paragraph 9 also calls for more information in addition to that specified in paragraph 6.

The four annexes of the Plan, in addition to the contents of the Plan itself, aim explicitly at denying Iraq the capacity to conduct scientific, biological and chemical research. Indeed, the Plan is so excessive that, in paragraph 38 (c), it prohibits Iraq's conducting activities on diseases other than those indigenous to or immediately expected to break out in Iraq. In paragraph 38 (d), Iraq is prohibited from conducting any breeding of vectors of human, animal or plant diseases. Should Iraq need to conduct any such

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

activity, it has to submit a request to the Special Commission specifying all the information the Commission requires. The Commission will then accept or reject the request.

In other words, if Iraq is to abide by its commitment not to produce biological weapons, then it must desist from conducting medical research on diseases that are not expected to break out immediately in its environment. Iraq is also prevented from conducting research on the immunization and innoculation of children and others against infectious diseases. Is not the result of these restrictions the vulnerability of Iraq's people to disease and gradual extermination?

I may have spoken at length of the Plan, its annexes and details. But I do hope that I have been able to show that the Plan gives the Commission and its personnel absolute powers and imposes on Iraq obligations that give the Special Commission absolute authority over the State and people of Iraq. It also imposes conditions that would make Iraq powerless to fulfil all the obligations imposed on it by the Plan. Furthermore, the Plan is arbitrary in its interpretation of the tasks outlined in resolution 687 (1991). While the provisions of that resolution focus on the weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres, the Plan goes further and includes dual and multipurpose materials, scientific activities and medical activities. The Plan also introduces a mechanism that would monitor all Iraq's imports and subject all Iraq's requirements of multipurpose materials to the prior consent by the Commission established under resolution 661 (1990). Every member of that Commission has the right of veto regardless of the legitimacy of the requirements. Thus, this Plan would make the economic sanctions against Iraq - which are provisional pending the

(Mr. Al-Anbari, Iraq)

implementation of paragraph 22 of resolution 687 (1991) - permanent measures and would make the sanctions committee a permanent organ of the Security Council.

The main thrust of the Plan is not to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction but to deprive Iraq of its industrial and scientific infrastructure and to project an image of Iraq as a State that does not cooperate with the United Nations or tries to exceed its international obligations in order to tighten further the economic, scientific and political siege imposed on Iraq's Government and its people.

If the Plan's aims are illegal and prohibited under the Geneva Conventions and the instruments of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter, then they and the draft resolution under consideration lack international legality and are not consonant with international law or the United Nations Charter.

The PRESIDENT: I thank the representative of Iraq for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. PICKERING (United States of America): I hope to be brief, but I feel I must comment on what we have just heard from the representative of Iraq. In contrast to what he has just said, I would like to extend the compliments of my delegation and my Government to the Special Commission and to the Director-General of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), who prepared excellent monitoring plans for dealing with a very serious and difficult situation.

We have seen Iraq's performance over the past months. It has continued to hide parts of its nuclear-weapons programme, its chemical-warfare programme, its biological programme and its missile programme. It has

(Mr. Pickering, United States)

continued to try to block the cooperation that it is committed to give to the Special Commission and to IAEA. We have only to take note of the parking-lot incident and the difficulties which were put in the way of the Special Commission in actually operating the helicopters mandated by the Council.

There is, as we all know now, indisputable evidence that Iraq was seeking to build nuclear weapons and that it misused and abused its peaceful-nuclear facilities. Twice, the Governing Board of IAEA has found that Iraq was in violation of its safeguards agreements under the non-proliferation Treaty. One more such finding, we believe, is now pending on the basis of recent evidence. Several times, including as recently as in resolution 707 (1991), the Council has found Iraq in violation of its obligations under Security Council resolutions. This should all speak clearly for itself as to why this monitoring and verification Plan is required and why it has been so carefully prepared.

The bad news, unfortunately, is that, as we all know, in each of the resolutions relevant to the Iraq and Kuwait situation - between resolutions 661 (1990) and 712 (1991) - we have heard pretty much the same speech from the representative of Iraq. Perhaps the good news is that, at each turn, reluctantly, grudgingly and half-heartedly, Iraq has nevertheless complied with the general tenor of those resolutions as they have been applied by the Council. We hope and expect that Iraq will of course abide by the resolution which we hope the Council will move rapidly now to adopt.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland): I, too, feel that, after the statement made by the representative of Iraq, some points need to be made. I was struck, I must say, by the representative of Iraq's analogy, in which he describes resolution 687 (1991) as a tree. Having worked in gardens quite a long time myself, I have noticed that the branches of trees usually belong to the trees. This draft resolution belongs to this tree, which is resolution 687 (1991). It derives directly from it.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

The draft resolution is stringent because of the long chapter of evasions, concealment and trickery that Iraq has employed to avoid revealing what it was required to reveal under resolution 687 (1991) and because of a long history of evasion that has demonstrated beyond any doubt Iraq's determination to preserve and continue the programmes for producing weapons of mass destruction which this Council has interdicted.

The representative of Iraq expressed surprise that there are parts of this continuing compliance programme that relate to dual-use items, civilian items. But he should hardly be surprised. After all, Iraq's nuclear-weapons programme was called by the Government of Iraq "Petrochemicals Project Number 3", and Iraq imported parts for a super-gun - which has now, fortunately, been destroyed - that were described as "pipes for petrochemical plant". So if there is a problem over dual use, there is nobody to blame but themselves.

The representative of Iraq expressed surprise that there should be references to the need to provide for the safety of the Special Commission. That is 10 days after armed Iraqi police detained the Special Commission inspectors for four days, against all of Iraq's international obligations and its agreement with the United Nations. It is surely hardly surprising that we have to guard against that.

Now, the representative of Iraq suggested that this draft resolution is designed to prevent Iraq from conducting research in the fields of health. Frankly, that is not true. Paragraph 38 (d) of the report makes it quite clear that projects for breeding vectors of human, animal or plant diseases will be permitted.

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

Therefore, I think it is a pity that this caricature should have been given to the Council when it is entirely contrary to the truth.

To conclude, the object of the draft resolution, I would say, is quite simply this: it is to prevent Iraq from breaking in the future the international obligations on weapons of mass destruction it so liberally broke in the past. One way or another, that objective will be achieved.

The PRESIDENT: It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/23134) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now. There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 715 (1991).

I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): In the view of my delegation the resolution we have just adopted is of great importance. We have approved the plan for future ongoing monitoring and verification, which is the only way to ensure that Iraq will no longer be able to pursue its plans, especially those to acquire nuclear armaments. The missions of the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency have furnished ample proof of those plans, and the international community is in duty bound to put an end to them.

(Mr. Mérimée, France)

This matter concerns the heart of the Security Council's responsibilities. My delegation welcomes the unanimity that has prevailed among Council members in this regard. We hope that, faced with this determination on the part of the international community, Iraq will understand that it is in its interests to comply without reservations with the obligations incumbent upon it under the plan and the resolution and cooperate with the Council and with the various bodies under its authority and responsibility.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.

UNITED
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Security Council

PROVISIONAL

S/PV.3013
11 October 1991

ENGLISH

PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND AND THIRTEENTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Friday, 11 October 1991, at 6.10 p.m.

President:	Mr. GHAREKHAN	(India)
Members:	Austria	Mr. HOHENFELLNER
	Belgium	Mr. NOTERDAEME
	China	Mr. LI Daoyu
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mrs. KABA
	Cuba	Mr. ZAMORA RODRIGUEZ
	Ecuador	Mr. AYALA LASSO
	France	Mr. MERIMEE
	Romania	Mr. FLOREAN
	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mr. PICKERING
	Yemen	Mr. AL-ASHTAL
	Zaire	Mr. BAGBENI ADEITO NZENGEYA
	Zimbabwe	Mr. MUMBENGEGWI

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The meeting was called to order at 6.10 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN CYPRUS

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON HIS MISSION OF GOOD OFFICES IN CYPRUS (S/23121)

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General (S/23121) on his mission of good offices in Cyprus. They also have before them a draft resolution (S/23137) which has been prepared in the course of the Council's consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a technical correction to be made to the draft resolution. In operative paragraph 3, the words "and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus" should be followed by a semicolon instead of a comma.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Austria, Belgium, China, Côte d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ecuador, France, India, Romania, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Yemen, Zaire, Zimbabwe

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 716 (1991).

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.